1: Epstein S-3 (no date) 1946 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Thoumin, like other investigators, finds it hard to give exact figures of emigration from Syria and the Lebanon, and therefore chooses to give his estimates in percentages by countries, as follows: 167

United States and Canada	35 per cent.
South America	35 „ „
Egypt	10 „ „
Other countries	20 „ „

The emigrants who left Syria and the Lebanon between 1920 and 1930 settled as follows:

South America	50 per cent.
Africa (excluding Egypt)...	15 „ „
Egypt	10 „ „
North America	10 „ „
Other countries	15 „ „

If the figures given by Widmer and the Reports to the League of Nations quoted above are adapted to the statistical tables of Thoumin, it follows that about 146,000 Syrian and Lebanese are living in North America, about the same number in South America, and about 41,000 in Egypt. The remaining 83,000 are distributed in the other parts of the world.

Although the students mentioned above have never dealt with the question of Lebanese immigration with the necessary completeness, but mostly regarded it, particularly after the first world war, as part of the general emigration from the area of the French Mandate, nevertheless both Widner and Thoumin stressed the fact that the Lebanon was and has remained the chief centre of migration for the reasons explained by them, particularly by Thoumin. Dr. A. Ruppin* deals explicitly with the distribution of emigration from Syria and the Lebanon by countries and communities. Basing himself on official figures, Ruppin reaches the conclusion that up to 1915, 100,000 people had emigrated from the Autonomous Sanjak of the Lebanon.

What has been said above makes it possible to conclude with reasonable certainty that the majority of the emigrants from Syria and the Lebanon during the period of emigration came from the area which is now included within the boundaries of the Lebanese Republic.

Professor M. Jerusalem† estimates the total number of emigrants from the Lebanon as 250,000, and reckons that 130,000 to 140,000 were Maronites.

The influence of the emigration from the Lebanon on the population can be learnt from Thoumin, who points out that at least a third of the inhabitants of every Lebanese village have travelled abroad. In his journeys through the Lebanon the author found that in every Christian family he met, at least one member had emigrated during the preceding twenty years. The Lebanese who returned to their home lands are a 167 484

* Dr. A. Ruppin, *Syrien als Wirtschaftsgebiet*, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1920, p. 22.

† M. Jerusalem, *The Maronites*, Jerusalem, 1942, p. 24 (typed memo.).

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1
[Munsif]

a particularly unfavored district in the physical sense—more favored districts had already been occupied by others.

We have seen that the village territory was subsequently divided into three equal parts, each of which came in time to be dominated by a particular lineage, each descended from a son of the founder. The main house cluster was said to have been first located somewhat below the church, in a recess. This location made the community completely invisible from the coastal highway, and this was described by one informant as a necessary defensive measure. He added that he had heard that in the old days, when men went down to Ḥilwi to work their fields, they went in armed groups to protect themselves against marauding bands of Muslims. This was presumably during the century and more of virtual anarchy which followed the reign of Fakhr ad-Din II. As the village grew in population, the house cluster was extended up and along the crest of the ridge, lineage A occupying the upper part, lineage C the lower part. Lineage B members lived mostly at ʾarqbi, surrounding the shrine of Mar Mukhail, and only very recently moved entirely into the eastern and upper portions of the main house cluster.

We have seen that at present the ownership pattern of the houses still reflects the clustering of the houses by maximal lineage. Some of the exceptions to this patterning, especially in the highest part of the village, are due to very recent purchases of land and new construction. Those in the center, however, were explained by one informant as follows: "Maybe a hundred years ago many people were very poor. They sold their land to people in 'Amshiit. Then later some others bought it again. We don't know who they all were. People went to America to make money and then they came back."

There is at hand what might well be external evidence of this episode. Churchill (1853, vol. 1, pp. 72–73), writes of the spectacular rise of one Michael Toobea, a Maronite from 'Amshiit, "Making his native village of Amsheet the centre of his operations, he conceived a system which soon brought him into intimate relations with the entire neighboring population—that of making advances of money on the silk crops. . . . Toobea has become an extensive landed proprietor, and as a landlord his character is unimpeachable."

Until about seventy-five years ago, Munṣif was a very nearly self-sufficient and self-contained community. We can assume that a good proportion of its wheat always had to be imported. As a matter of fact, Ḥilwi used to serve as a point of entry for imported goods which were brought to it by boat, this mode of transportation being cheaper, safer, and easier than overland transport. It was also, apparently, a regular practice for a number of men to do seasonal wage labor in other districts. One specialty of this type, which was hazardous but profitable, was sponge-diving.

But these activities do not seem to have essentially lessened the village's cultural isolation. It was common in those days, according to one informant, to en-

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1
[Munsif]

counter adults who had been to Beirut or Tripoli not more than once or twice in their entire lives. As another informant said, "Everyone was *fillah*"—meaning, in effect, that everyone was either a farmer or had some part-time or full-time specialty which was directly concerned with rural subsistence. One person guessed that at any given time no more than ten men, and no women, in the village could read and write.

As the population of the village increased and the generations passed, the three original lineages became segmented into sub-lineages. This was evidently a gradual process; the three original lineages did not all become completely subdivided at the same time. Eventually, the three original lineages lost nearly all their significance as in-groups since this function had been taken over by the new, smaller lineages. It has been noted before that while the name of the original lineage now identified as Maximal Lineage A is no longer used by any of the minimal lineages derived from it, the names of Maximal Lineages B and C are preserved as names of two minimal lineages. It may be that a more accurate view of this matter, of which the villagers were aware but could not explain, is as follows: The kin group now identifiable as A became completely subdivided into smaller lineages, and its name was thus obliterated. B and C, however, were never completely subdivided, possibly because of their smaller size. Thus, although several new lineages did develop from or split off from the original B and C, remnants of these latter continued on, retaining the original name. This interpretation, if valid, might explain why Minimal Lineages XII and XVI, which bear the names of B and C, show a greater diversity of patrilines than their fellow minimal lineages. In the view of the Munşifiin in 1952, however, lineages XII and XVI are regarded in no different light from the other *'ayli*.

At some time around 1880 the outside world began to force itself upon the circumscribed life of the village, in not one way, but several ways. First, American Protestant missionaries brought mass education, with its prospects of prestigeful and possibly lucrative employment, within reach of everyone in the village. Then, America became known as the land where one could go for a few years to work, make more money than one could possibly earn in the village, and then return to the village to live an easier, more comfortable life. Emigration, at first and for a long time conceived of only as a temporary expedient, began about 1890. And, finally, Western manufactured articles began to be imported.

By 1914 profound changes had been wrought in the village. Many of its members had gone to America, some of them never to return. A decline in the price of silk had led many to replace their mulberries with olives, but the financial loss in this respect was overbalanced by the financial gain of money made in America, or sent from America. While the houses of the emigrants stood empty and began to fall into ruins, more and more new houses, with tile roofs glowing proudly in the sun, were being built. Native villagers had taken over the school founded by the missionaries, and others had established their own. Literacy and

475 On the basis of the above, total earnings from foreign travel (i.e. summer resort, schools, hospitals and tourism) can be estimated, therefore, at L.L. 35.0 million in 1951 and L.L. 47.6 million in 1952.

II. Expenditure on foreign travel

475 484 There is no information at all about Lebanese travellers who go abroad for business, pleasure, study or health reasons, nor about their total expenditures. An attempt was made to arrive at rough estimates by interviewing returning travellers upon their disembarkation in Beirut, about their expenditures while abroad [1]. The results achieved were unsatisfactory as few of the people approached responded well and as the period covered was very short (less than 3 months) and could not be taken as representative. However, under present conditions direct interviews are the only possible ways of obtaining information and should be relied upon in the future. Returns would be greatly improved if the interviews are generalized, systematized and extended over a whole year period.

In the meantime, it was decided to try to estimate expenditures from the data on departures and arrivals of Lebanese travellers. Such data is available quarterly (cf. Table 23). It was assumed that the number of Lebanese persons abroad at the beginning of 1951 was x; then the number at the end of the first quarter of the same year was $x + D1 - A1$, where D1 denotes the departures and Al the arrivals; thus the average number of persons abroad during the quarter was the average between the two numbers at the beginning and at the end of the quarter, namely $\frac{2x + D1 - A1}{2}$ or $x + \frac{D1 - A1}{2}$. If the same argument were followed for the succeeding quarters, the fourth quarter would have an average of $x + \frac{2D1 + 2D2 + 2D3 + D4 - (2A1 + 2A2 + 2A3 + A4)}{2}$

and the fourth quarter of the second year

$$x + \frac{2D1 + 2D2 \ldots + 2D7 + D8 - (2A1 + 2A2 \ldots + A8)}{2}$$

For each of these quarters, the number of man days spent abroad would be the average given above multiplied by 91 (one-fourth of a year). Thus the total man days spent abroad would be the sum of all the averages given above multiplied into 91; this sum can

1 See Appendix IV for the type of questions asked.

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be presented symbolically in the following form:

$$91\left(8x+\sum_{1}^{8}(8-r+0.5)\,Dr.-\sum_{1}^{8}(8-s+0.5)\,As\right) \quad \text{I}$$

This represents in fact the total number man days spent by Lebanese abroad; the number of Lebanese who were abroad during the period under consideration is:

$$x+\sum_{1}^{8}Dr \quad \text{II};$$

consequently the average number of days spent abroad is the quotient of I and II. The result would be in the form

$$91\,\frac{(8x+L)}{x+M} \quad \text{III}$$

where x is unknown and where L and M can be easily computed from the data on departures and arrivals. When applied to the information available for Lebanese travel abroad, and assuming that x is between 2000 and 3000, (which is a fair assumption considering the yearly difference between arrivals and departures) the above expression varies from 54 to 73. This would give an average number of days spent abroad per person of 64. Assuming that each person spends on the average LL. 20 a day,[1] total expenditures of Lebanese abroad were LL. 12.7 million in 1951 and LL. 20.2 million in 1952.

To this should be added expenditures of Lebanese students which are easier to come by. The number of these students, excluding Government scholars whose expenditures are included under "Government" (cf. p. 37), was established at 613 in 1951, of which 52 in the U.S. and the rest mainly in Western Europe, and at 754 in 1952 of which 147 in the U.S It is estimated that a student spends an average of $ 2,000 a year in the U.S. and about LL. 3,000 elsewhere. On the basis of these estimates, total students' expenditures abroad were LL. 2.0 million in 1951 and LL. 2.9 million in 1952.

Total expenditures on foreign travel were, therefore, LL. 14.7 million in 1951 and LL. 23.1 million in 1952.

III. Conclusion

A comparison of earnings and expenditures, as computed above, would indicate a net credit on foreign travel account of LL. 20.3 million in 1951 and LL. 24.5 million in 1952.

1 Estimates based on the rough answers of returning travellers.

The figures thus obtained did not show, of course, the type of accommodation used, i.e., whether the travel was made by first, second or tourist class. Had the survey on returning travellers been completed (cf. p. 28) it would have been possible to use the results obtained as a basis for grouping the passengers into "classes". Under the circumstances the best alternative was to interview various travel agencies about the accommodations normally booked by their customers. From these interviews it has been possible to establish the following rough pattern:

i) Lebanese emigrants, because of their usually limited resources, travel tourist class. They normally book a "through-fare" which includes food, transportation and stop-overs on the way.

ii) Businessmen and tourists in general travel first class to Europe, but second class and sometimes third class to further destinations.

iii) Students usually travel either second or tourist class.

Based on the above pattern, fares schedules have been prepared, one applying to emigrants, another to travellers to Europe and a third to all other travellers. The appropriate fares were then applied to the given number of travellers in each category; this indicated total expenditures on passenger fares of LL. 6.5 million in both 1951 and 1952 (cf. Table 24).

The same procedure was followed with regard to travellers by air. However, as the totals obtained (LL. 4.4 million in 1951 and LL. 4.3 million in 1952) included payments made to the two Lebanese airlines, they had to be properly corrected. With that in view, the Lebanese airlines were requested to supply, *inter alia*, information on the number of Lebanese nationals who travelled on their lines[1]. Only one of these companies answered, and for want of a better estimate, it has been

[1] Here the criterion of nationality rather than that of residence was taken as a basis, as it would have been impossible for the airlines to differentiate between foreign residents and foreign non-residents.

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Table 23

Lebanese Departing & Arriving Through the Port of Beirut and the International Airport

Year		Arrivals	Departures	
			Emigrants	Others
1951:	1st quarter	2,190	1,093	2,479
	2nd quarter	3,846	991	2,332
	3rd quarter	3,399	612	3,398
	4th quarter	2,006	1,381	3,349
	TOTAL	11,441	4,077	11,558
1952:	1st quarter	2,009	980	2,490
	2nd quarter	3,503	460	3,294
	3rd quarter	3,795	376	4,030
	4th quarter	2,717	929	5,992
	TOTAL	12,114	2,725	15,806
1953:	1st quarter	2,560	627	3,592
	2nd quarter	5,198	462	4,156

Source: Ministère de l'Economie Nationale. Service de Statistique Générale. Bulletins Statistiques Trimestriels, Beirut, 1951, 1952, 1953.

126 trated individuals had to face the
167 issue and put up with the stringent situation, in accordance with the dictates of the village culture. When America was "discovered," an outlet, an escape was provided, and many a frustrated individual took up the newly offered chance.

Extent of Emigration

167 *Emigration to foreign countries:*
● 494 Prior to 1880, not a single individual had ever emigrated from the village to the outside, either within the country or to a foreign country. Bishmizzeen constituted the world of the village group. Even mobility was highly restricted. Visits to neighboring villages were very infrequent. A few used to take occasional trips to the town of Tripoli, and still a fewer number had been to Beirut. Occasionally some adventurous souls would take a pilgrimage to Jerusalem or a cattle trading trip to Egypt. One of the old village songs, aiming at the praise of a husband's valor, begins with the following line: "Your husband, oh beautiful one, has gone to Damascus and come back, alone." Damascus is about 100 miles from Bishmizzeen.

169 In 1884 the first young man from Bishmizzeen emigrated to a foreign country. Others followed, and the number increased, year after year, first to the U. S. A., then to the four corners of the world. The following table (III) shows the geographical distribution of the Bishmizzeen emigrants.

P.66 (A)

erate punishment by concealing the death of unregistered infants distort from the validity of the meager data available. Local pediatricians believe that the mortality rate in children up to 2 years of age averages from 25 to 30 per cent for the country as a whole. It ranges from 10 to 15 per cent, or more, in Beirut proper to from 30 to 45 per cent in Tripoli, Sidon and the towns of South Lebanon, the standards of living are uniformly low, and the mortality in children under 2 years of age probably reaches 50 to 70 per cent. Intestinal diseases are foremost among the causes of death in infancy and early childhood.

Social Economy

The economy of Lebanon is based upon agriculture, but the country is in a more favorable position than the neighboring Arab states, in that the national income is augmented by an increasing tourist traffic and by remittances to their families from emigrants living abroad. Although the coastal plain and the Bekaa valley support a variety of crops, a large part of the territory is mountainous and unsuitable for cultivation. The coastal region is cultivated intensively, with a series of narrow terraces extending along the seaward slopes of the Lebanon range up to an elevation of about 3,000 feet. Little more than 20 per cent of the total land area is now under production, while less than one fifth of that is irrigated. Considerable disparity exists between recent estimates of the amount of arable land, but all agree that it can be increased materially by a greater utilization of the available water resources and by improved methods of cultivation. Programs have already been initiated for the further development of irrigation facilities, notably in the southern Bekaa, and in the 'Akkar plain, a triangular sector between the coast and the northern frontier with Syria. The tradition of private ownership is strong in the mountainous districts of the north, and most of the land is cultivated by independent FARMERS.

Slight expense of income were developed, however. Although the breakup of the Ottoman Empire and the creation of tariff barriers to the economic states handicapped Lebanon's transit trade, Beirut continued to be an important distributing center. In this it was helped by the enlargement of its harbor and by the construction of a good network of roads. These improvements, together with the development of public utilities and hotels, attracted to Lebanon an increasing number of middle Eastern tourists.

In agriculture, the most important development was the expansion in the acreage planted to olive and fruit trees, and the improvement in quality. The tariff protection gradually accorded after 1924 also stimulated industry. At the outbreak of the Second World War, some 20,000 persons were employed in factories and small workshops, including craftsmen engaged in such traditional seasonal occupations as silk reeling. 2/

During the Second World War, the large-scale expenditure of Allied troops raised incomes and prices, 3/ and the reduction of imports further stimulated industrial production. This increase was achieved with existing equipment, since no machinery could be imported.

Another result of the war was the improvement of commodities. The forced savings due to inflation and the shift to profits took the form of fresh and sterling balances held by Lebanese individuals and institutions.

Post-War Period, 1945 to 1954

Since 1945, the national income of Lebanon has increased considerably, and available data indicate a rise in consumption. The dissolution in 1950 of the customs union 1/ with Syria, which had constituted Lebanon's most important market, caused a setback, compensated in recent years, it appears, by the over-all growth.

Emigration, which had almost ceased during the war years, increased in the post-war period. In recent years it has averaged over 3,000 per annum, 2/ compared with an annual natural increase of about 15,000. Emigration was, however, offset by an influx of over 100,000 Palestinian Arab refugees in 1948 and 1949. The maintenance of these refugees by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees has largely shielded the Lebanese economy from their impact, though many have found employment in the country while a few [illegible] have established [illegible] businesses.

1/ The number of industrial establishments rose from 400 in 1930 to 900 in 1939, according to Khalil el Hamdy, "Min el Nisfu Ila el Alaf", in Mahajjarat in Lubna (Beirut, 1955).

2/ From 1941 to 1954 inclusive, Allied expenditure in Lebanon and Syria totalled £75 million (sterling). From 1939 to 1945 inclusive, Lebanon and Syria had a surplus of £27 million Lebanese-Syrian pounds on current account. The wholesale price index in Beirut rose from 100 in June 1939 to a peak of 1,203 in January 1945.

3/ See chapter 7.

1/ Emigration in 1951 totalled 4,277, in 1952 it was 2,795 and in 1953 it was 3,343 (Le Commerce du Levant, 9 October 1954, Beirut). A significant proportion of emigrants went to the Persian Gulf area.